

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 EURE-00 PM-03 SP-02

L-01 INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-10 INRE-00

SSO-00 /050 W

----- 032021

O P 081000Z OCT 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3913

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 5529

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

USDOCOSOUTH PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 5468

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR NATO TU GR

SUBJ: TURKISH CONCERNS ABOUT SOUTHERN REGION DEFENSES AND GREECE-
NATO NEGOTIATIONS

REF: A) USNATO 5434 DTG 061905Z OCT 75

B) USNATO 5390 DTG 031320Z OCT 75

C) STATE 236950 DTG 040032Z OCT 75

SUMMARY: DPC MET OCTOBER 7 TO DISCUSS IMS PAPER ON TURKISH CONCERNS REGARDING COMMUNICATIONS, AIR DEFENSE, OVERFLIGHTS, AND EXERCISES IN THE SOUTHERN REGION. ERALP (TURKEY) CIRCULATED EXTENSIVE REMARKS (SEPTTEL, NOTAL) IN IMS STUDY OF THESE ISSUES AND COMMENTED ON SHORTCOMINGS OF IMS RECOMMENDATIONS. HE ALSO URGED DPC TO REMAND QUESTION OF TURKISH PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN REGION TO THE MILITARY COMMITTEE, IN WHICH, HE SAID, GREEK PARTICIPATION SHOULD BE CURTAILED. MILITARY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HILL-NORTON DISCUSSED TURKISH CONCERNS, NOTED NEED TO DEAL WITH THESE PROBLEMS IN MANNER CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT WOULD NOT PREJUDICE GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS, AND RECOMMENDED NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES RATHER THAN THE MILITARY COMMITTEE ALONE CONTINUE TO ADDRESS THESE ISSUES. IN DISCUSSION ON NEXT STEPS IN GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS, DE

STAERCKE (BELGIUM) SUPPORTED PROPOSAL FOR OPEN-ENDED DPC WORKING GROUP, BUT CAUTIONED DPC ON LEADING NEGOTIATING ROLE FOR SACEUR. HILL-NORTON RESPONDED THAT, IN PRACTICE, SACEUR/SHAPE MUST BE INVOLVED IN WORK ON LARGELY MILITARY ISSUES. SYG LUNS CONCLUDED THAT DPC WOULD RETURN TO QUESTION OF TURKISH CONCERNS AFTER REPS HAD STUDIED LATEST TURKISH REMARKS. LUNS SAID HE WOULD AGAIN URGE GREEK PERMREP TO PRESENT SPECIFIC VIEWS ON FUTURE GREECE-NATO RELATIONS AND WOULD SOON CIRCULATE DRAFT TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH GREECE. LUNS ALSO NOTED SUGGESTION OF US CHARGE THAT TERMS OF REFERENCE COVER ROLE FOR SACEUR. DPC DISCUSSION OF THIS LISSUE REFLECTED CHARGE'S DEMARCHE WITH LUNS (REF A) AND DE STAERCKE OCTOBER 6 ON US POSITION GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS (REF C). CHARGE ALSO DISCUSSED US APPROACH WITH UK CHARGE AND FRG AND CANADIAN PERMREPS AFTER DPC MEETING OCTOBER 7. END SUMMARY.

1. LUNS OPENED DPC SESSION BY NOTING THAT ITEM ON "COMMUNICATIONS AND OVERFLIGHTS IN THE SOUTHER REGION" HAD BEEN PLACED ON DPC AGENDA AT REQUEST OF TURKISH REP. ERALP SAID BRIEF TITLE OF ITEM DID NOT COVER FULL RANGE OF TURKISH CONCERNS, CIRCULATED PAPER SETTING FORTH DETAILED TURKISH VIEWS (SEPTTEL NOTAL), AND MADE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL POINTS IN ORAL PRESENTATION: (A) IMS REPORT OFFERED ONLY LIMITED PROPOSALS TO DEAL WITH TURKISH CONCERNS; (B) RECOMMENDATIONS WERE NOT PROPORTIONAL TO MAGNITUDE OF PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN REGION; AND (C) IMS PAPER WAS INADEQUATE IN ITS COVERAGE OF FOUR BASIC PROBLEMS OF COMMUNICATIONS, REGIONAL AIR DEFENSE, OVERFLIGHTS, AND EXERCISES, AND DID NOT EVEN ATTEMPT TO COVER THE PROBLEM OF COMMAND AND CONTROL IN THE SOUTHERN REGION. ERALP RECOGNIZED IMS HAD WORKED UNDER CONSTRAINTS OF INSUFFICIENT MANDATE AND NEED FOR LOW PROFILE, AND SAID THESE CONSTRAINTS WERE UNFORUNTATE, SINCE PROBLEMS DPC HAD ASKED IMS TO ADDRESS REMAINED UNSETTLED AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR.

2. ERALP SAID DPC SHOULD NOW REFER TURKISH CONCERNS TO THE MILITARY COMMITTEE (MC), WHICH SHOULD WORK ON THEM WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ASSISTANCE OF MAJOR REGIONAL COMMANDERS. ERALP NOTED THAT THE GREEK REPRESENTATIVE STILL PARTICIPATED WITH FULL PRIVILEGES IN THE MC, AND SAID THIS ANOMOLOUS SITUATION WOULD INHIBIT MC WORK ON TURKISH CONCERNS. HE SAID GREEK PARTICIPATION IN THE MC WAS PARTICULARLY DEPLORABLE SINCE GREECE HAD WITHDRAWN FROM NATO INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE AND HAD NO FORCES COMMITTED TO NATO. THE ASSIGNMENT OF GREEK OFFICERS TO NATO HEADQUARTERS AND TO SUBORDINATE COMMANDS SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE ASSIGNMENT OF FORCES, SINCE THIS WOULD BE A MOST DANGEROUS PRECEDENT. ERALP SAID THE TIME HAD COME TO FACE THE GREEKS REGARDING THIS SITUATION AND TO LIMIT GREEK PARTICIPATION IN THE MC. HE ILLUSTRATED DRAWBACKS OF GREEK PARTICIPATION IN THE MC BY SAYING THAT THE

GREEK REP HAD BLOCKED ADOPTION OF SACLANT MINING PLAN AND HAD PREVENTED WINTEX 75 FROM COVERING THE AEGEAN.

3. LUNS SAID HE SHARED THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY ERALP. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT THESE ISSUES WOULD HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH IN THE BROADER CONTEXT OF GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS.

4. MC CHAIRMAN SIR PETER HILL-NORTON SAID THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES FACED A DIFFICULT PROBLEM. THEY HAD TO ATTEMPT TO MEET THE CONCERNS OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WHILE TAKING CARE NOT TO PREJUDICE FULL GREEK PARTICIPATION IN THE ALLIANCE. HE SAID THE PAPER PRODUCED BY THE IMS REPRESENTED THE BEST MILITARY ADVICE AVAILABLE TO THE ALLIANCE, AND WAS DEVELOPED THROUGH A CONSTANT DIALOGUE WITH SACEUR. THE PAPER HAD NOT BEEN DISCUSSED IN THE MC WHEN THE GREEK REP WAS PRESENT SINCE HILL-NORTON HAD TAKEN THE POSITION THAT TURKISH PROBLEMS SHOULD NOT BE DISCUSSED WITH THE GREEK REP. HE BELIEVED THE CONTINUED PARTICIPATION OF THE GREEK REP IN THE MC WAS BENEFICIAL TO THE ALLIANCE, BUT HE WOULD BE GUIDED BY THE DPC IF IT SHOULD ADOPT A CONTRARY VIEW. HILL-NORTON OBSERVED THAT ERALP WAS NOT ACCURATE IN SAYING THE GREEK REP HAD BLOCKED ADOPTION OF SACLANT'S MINING PLAN. THIS PLAN, WHICH WAS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO ALLIES IN THE BALTIC REGION, COULD BE ADOPTED, BUT IT WOULD NOT APPLY TO THE AEGEAN WITHOUT GREEK CONSENT.

5. TURNING TO THE ISSUES COVERED IN THE IMS PAPER, HILL-NORTON SAID COMMUNICATIONS LINKS WITH TURKEY ARE WORKING CONFIDENTIAL

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ALTHOUGH THEY ARE NOT ENTIRELY RELIABLE. MILITARY AUTHORITIES KNOW THE COST OF SUGGESTED ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS. THE FIRST OF THESE IS TO CHANGE SHAPE PRIORITIES WITH RESPECT TO SATELLITE LINKS. CONSIDERATION OF THIS ALTERNATIVE WAS COMPLICATED BY THE FAILURE OF THE EXISTING SATELLITE, AND BY UNCERTAINTY ABOUT HOW LONG AN ALTERNATIVE SATELLITE, WHICH WAS BEING MOVED FROM OVER THE PACIFIC, WOULD CONTINUE TO FUNCTION. MEANWHILE, EFFORTS WERE BEING MADE TO SPEED UP THE LAUNCH OF A REPLACEMENT SATELLITE NEXT SPRING. ANOTHER ALTERNATIVE WAS TO REROUTE CONNECTIONS WITH TURKEY THROUGH UK FACILITIES IN CYPRUS. UK AUTHORITIES HAD PROVIDED RELEVANT INFORMATION ON THIS ALTERNATIVE TO SHAPE AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES WOULD BE READY TO COMMENT ON THIS ALTERNATIVE IN DETAIL.

6. WITH RESPECT TO AIR DEFENSE SECTORS, HILL-NORTON SAID SHAPE PLANS TO CUT OUT THE FIFTH ATAF AND JOIN COVERAGE FROM SIXTH ATAF IN TURKEY DIRECTLY WITH THE ITALY. WITH REGARD TO EXERCISES, ERALP WAS NOT ACCURATE IN SAYING WINTEX HAD BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE AEGEAN AT THE REQUEST OF THE GREEKS. WHEN THIS ISSUE HAD ARISEN, SACEUR SOUGHT ADVICE AND DECIDED THE EXERCISE COULD NOT TAKE PLACE IN AREAS OF GREEK RESPONSIBILITY. THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF HAD BEEN INFORMED OF THIS

DECISION AND TURKEY AHD DECIDED NOT PARTICIPATE. ON MILITARY PLANNING IN THE SOUTHERN REGION, HILL-NORTON SAID THAT IF THE DPC SO DIRECTED, NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES COULD

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L-01 INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-10 INRE-00

SSO-00 /050 W

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O P 081000Z OCT 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3914

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 5530

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REEXAMINE EXISTING ARRANGEMENTS. HOWEVER, IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO MAKE REALISTIC PLANS UNTIL THE SCOPE OF FUTURE GREEK PARTICIPATION WAS KNOWN. AT THE SAME TIME, AN ATTEMPT TO MAKE NEW ARRANGEMENTS NOW WOULD AFFECT THE OUTCOME OF GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS. HILL-NORTON SAID THERE WAS LITTLE MILITARY AUTHORITIES COULD NO ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF OVERFLIGHTS.

7. HILL-NORTON CONCLUDED THAT HE PERSONALLY BELIEVED IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE AT THIS STAGE FOR THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES TO CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH TURKEY'S CONCERNS. IF THEY WERE REMANDED TO THE MC IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO PROCEED ONLY ON THE BASIS OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS TO NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES, WHICH WOULD DELAY WORK ON THESE ISSUES.

8. LUNS REMARKED THAT THE ALLIES WERE NOW REAPING THE RESULTS OF HAVING ACQUIESCED IN GREECE'S TAKING PREJUDICIAL UNILATERAL ACTIONS CONTRARY TO GREECE'S ALLIANCE OBLIGATIONS. THE ALLIES NOW HAD TO NEGOTIATE WITH GREECE IN THE FACE OF FAITS ACCOMPLIS WHILE GREECE RETAINED LIAISON OFFICERS IN NATO COMMANDS.

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LUNS STRESSED THAT NEVERTHELESS THE ALLIES MUST PROCEED CAUTIOUSLY IN VIEW OF FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS ON FUTURE GREECE-NATO RELATIONS.

9. DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM) AGREED WITH THE LOGIC OF THE TURKISH POSITION BUT SAID POLITICAL REALITIES MUST NOT BE IGNORED. THE BALANCE OF ADVANTAGE FAVORED PERMITTING THE PRESENT ILLOGICAL SITUATION TO CONTINUE AND NOT ACCEPTING A RUPTURE OF GREEK PARTICIPATION IN ADVANCE OF NEGOTIATIONS. DE STAERCKE SAID THE ALLIES SHOULD BE FLEXIBLE IN THE MEANTIME IN ACCEPTING INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS SUCH AS THE APPLICATION OF SACLAN'T'S MINING PLAN. HE SUPPORTED THE SUGGESTION PUT FORWARD AT THE SEPTEMBER 17 DPC MEETING FOR AN OPEN-ENDED WORKING GROUP OF DPC REPS TO CARRY FORWARD NEGOTIATIONS WITH GREECE, BUT CAUTIONED THAT SACEUR WAS MUCH TOO IMPORTANT TO BE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE "AMBUSH" OF GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS. ERALP AGREED THAT A DPC WORKING GROUP WOULD BE AN APPROPRIATE MECHANISM FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH GREECE, PROVIDED THE GROUP WAS OPEN-ENDED. TURKEY WOULD CERTAINLY WANT TO PARTICIPATE. HE AGREED WITH DE STAERCKE'S COMMENTS ABOUT SACEUR'S ROLE.

10. HILL-NORTON, WHILE AGREEING WITH MOST OF DE STAERCKE'S VIEWS, NOTED THAT THE BULK OF THE PRACTICAL WORK COULD ONLY BE DONE BY SACEUR AND HIS STAFF. MOST OF THE ISSUES WERE MILITARY AND THUS SACEUR MUST PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE. AT THE SAME TIME, MILITARY AUTHORITIES WOULD WANT GUIDANCE FROM THE DPC AND CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THEY COULD ONLY CARRY FORWARD THEIR WORK UNDER SUCH GUIDANCE. DE STAERCKE AGREED AND SAID HE ACCEPTED THAT AS A PRACTICAL MATTER THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND SACEUR WOULD BE INVOLVED IN WORK ON THESE ISSUES, UNDER DPC GUIDANCE.

11. LUNS CONCLUDED BY SAYING HE WOULD AGAIN URGE THE GREEK REPRESENTATIVE TO PRESENT PROMPTLY SPECIFIC VIEWS ON GREECE'S FUTURE RELATIONSHIP WITH NATO. HE SAID THE DPC WOULD RETURN TO CONSIDERATION OF THE TURKISH PAPER AFTER ALLIES HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY IT. FINALLY, HE EXPECTED TO CIRCULATE IN THE NEAR FUTURE DRAFT TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS THAT WOULD SUGGEST AN OPEN-ENDED DPC WORKING GROUP IN WHICH MC AND SHAPE REPS WOULD PARTICIPATE. US CHARGE SAID HE ASSUMED THE PAPER WOULD COVER NOT ONLY THE SUGGESTION FOR AN OPEN-ENDED GROUP BUT ALSO GUIDELINES FOR SACEUR'S ROLE. CONFIDENTIAL

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LUNS INDICATED AGREEMENT.

12. DISCUSSION OF GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS AT DPC MEETING REFLECTED CHARGE'S EARLIER CONVERSATION WITH LUNS ON US APPROACH TO GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS (REF A) AS WELL AS CHARGE'S TALK OCTOBER 6 WITH DE STAERCKE. DE STAERCKE AGREED WITH US PROPOSAL FOR OPEN-END WORKING GROUP BUT EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT ASKING SACEUR TO WORK WITH GREECE ON SPECIFIC MILITARY PROBLEMS. ESSENCE OF DE STAERCKE'S

POISTION WAS THAT GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS WERE LIKELY TO BE CONTENTIOUS, AND PERHAPS UNSUCCESSFUL. HE URGED CAUTION IN PLACING SACEUR IN HIGHLY VISIBLE ROLE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE HE BELIEVED INEVITABLE FRICTION AND GREEK BACKLASH COULD REFLECT ADVERSELY ON BOTH SACEUR AND THE US. CHARGE EMPHASIZED THAT WHAT WE HAD IN MIND WAS A PRACTICAL TWO-TIER APPROACH WHICH HE URGED DE STAERCKE TO SUPPORT. CHARGE SAID CAREFULLY DRAWN TERMS OF REFERENCE COULD PROVIDE FOR OVERALL POLITICAL DIRECTION BY DPC AND SPECIFIC GUIDANCE FOR SACEUR'S EFFORTS.

13. FOLLOWING DPC MEETING OCTOBER 7, CHARGE ALSO DISCUSSED US POISTION ON GREECE-NATO RELATIONS WITH LOGAN (UK CHARGE), KRAPF (FRG), AND MENZIES (CANADA). LOGAN SAID US APPROACH SEEMED BEST PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENT AND HE BELIEVED IT MATCHED THINKING OF UK AUTHORITES. KRAPF ALSO AGREED WITH US APPROACH AND SAID HE WAS PERSONALLY VERY SATISFIED WITH ROLE FOR SACEUR. MENZIES SAID HE APPROVED OF OUR APPROACH, BUT NOTED CANADIANS WOULD PROBABLY NOT PARTICIPATE IN DPC WORKING GROUP BECAUSE OF SMALL DELEGATION STAFF. IN RESPONSE TO URGING BY CHARGE, LOGAN, KRAPF AND MENZIES SAID THEY WOULD SUPPORT US APPROACH WHEN QUESTION WAS NEXT DISCUSSED IN DPC.

14. COMMENT. DESPITE RESERVATIONS EXPRESSED BY DE STAERCKE ON SACEUR'S ROLE, OUR CORRIDOR WORK HAS BEGUN TO BUILD CONSENSUS ON US APPROACH TO GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS (REF C). NEXT STEP WILL BE TO WORK WITH ALLIES IN MOLDING DRAFT TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR DPC OPEN-ENDED GROUP, ONCE THESE ARE ISSUED BY LUNS, TO ENSURE THEY ARE AS CONSISTENT AS POSSIBLE WITH US VIEWS. LUNS AND DE STAERCKE ARE LIKELY TO INSIST ON THE POLITICAL PREROGATIVES OF THE DPC, AND WE WILL NEED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT TURKISH APPREHENSION THAT ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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SACEUR'S PARTICIPATION MIGHT LIMIT TURKEY'S ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. TO ACHIEVE OUR PURPOSES, WE MAY HAVE TO SETTLE FIRST FOR A DPC MANDATE FOR THE OPEN-ENDED GROUP AND THEREAFTER SEEK TO DENE SACEUR'S ROLE INCLUDING TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH GREEK MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES. REALISTICALLY, ALL OF THIS MAY TAKE SOME TIME, ESPECIALLY IF THE GREEKS DO NOT RESPOND HELPFULLY TO LUNS' REQUEST FOR A SPECIFIC EXPOSITION OF THE GREEK POSITION FOR USE IN NEGOTIATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, ACTIVE WORK IN THE AD HOC GROUP ON THIS ISSUE WILL HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF PLACATING THE TURKS WHO INDICATE INCREASING FRUSTRATION ABOUT LACK OF PROGRESS ON THEIR CONCERNS.

15. NOTE: FIRST ITEM ORIGINALLY LISTED ON OCTOBER 7 DPC AGENDA, "INTERIM POLICY REGARDING INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS IN GREECE" WAS REMOVED FROM AGENDA PRIOR TO DPC MEETING AT REQUEST OF TURKISH DELEGATION. WE UNDERSTAND TURKS ARE CONSIDERING RETURNING TO A HARDER LINE ON GREEK INFRASTRUCTURE ISSUES,

PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO THE TERMINAL DATE FOR CONTINUED FUNDING OF GREEK-USER PROJECTS AUTHORIZED BUT NOT COMPLETED BEFORE 28 AUGUST 1974. LESS FORTHCOMING TURK POSITION ON THIS ISSUE IS PROMPTED BY TURK DISSATISFACTION WITH THE GREEK SEPTEMBER 17 STATEMENT ON GREECE-NATO RELATIONS. STREATOR

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Message Attributes

Automatic DecapTIONing: Z
Capture Date: 18 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 OCT 1975
DecapTION Date: 28 MAY 2004
DecapTION Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NATO05468
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197510101/abbrzmjv.tel
Line Count: 333
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: A) USNATO 5434 DTG 061905Z OCT 75 B) USNATO 5390 DTG 031320Z OCT 75 C) STATE 236950 DTG 040032Z OCT 75
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <26 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TURKISH CONCERNS ABOUT SOUTHERN REGION DEFENSES AND GREECE- NATO NEGOTIATIONS
TAGS: PFOR NATO TU GR
To: STATE INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
NICOSIA
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
Type: TE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006